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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the shortcomings of the internal colonialism model of education that has persisted in North America throughout the history of Native American education. Since the arrival of Europeans in North America, their colonizing societies have attempted to repress the values and ways of life of Native Americans. Internal colonialism resulted in the displacement of Native American peoples by European expansion; isolation and containment of Native Americans in the reservation system; forced assimilation of Native American societies; political and economic domination of reservation affairs by the colonizers; and development of a racist ideology regarding Native Americans. Education has played a vital role in the oppression of Native Americans. First, boarding schools separated Indian children from their families and their way of life. Later, separate public schools were utilized. The main goals of education were to Christianize Native Americans so that they would accept and participate in the Christians' capitalist economic system. Eventually Native Americans were allowed to enter mainstream schools, but quite often teachers and administrators looked upon Indian students as having limited academic potential. The North American education system has failed Native Americans by not being sensitive to Native American culture, by not advocating bilingual education, and by ignoring the educational needs of Native Americans. Suggestions for educational improvement include involving Indian parents and communities in the schooling process; changing educators' attitudes toward Native American children and their academic potential; and encouraging decolonization by promoting Native American cultures, recognizing and legitimizing Native American history, and identifying unique learning styles of Native Americans. Contains 24 references. (LP)

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THE INTERNAL COLONIALISM MODEL: WHAT THE MODEL HAS DONE TO THE EDUCATION OF NATIVE AMERICANS

BY

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I. INTRODUCTION

Native Americans have endured much hardship since the arrival of the white man in North America. This hardship has resulted due to the differences in ways of life that Native Americans practice as opposed to the practices of the Christian immigrants who arrived to the new world. This hardship has extended in the manner in which Native Americans have been educated by the internal colonialism model enacted by the Anglo-Saxon settlers. While Native Americans have been interested in education, they have not been very enthusiastic about formal North American education (Greenberg, 1964). Katherine Jensen believes this resistance to colonized education by Native Americans exists because the teaching of Native Americans has had a system of teaching civilization while practicing segregation (Jensen, 1984).

Jensen's statement can be supported by the fact that the American Colonists had oppressed the Native American way of life because there is a clash in modes of productions. That is, the Native American "pre-capitalist" economic system clashes with the capitalist economic system that North American society dictates (Josephy, 1991). By discouraging the Native American modes of production, Indian culture has been discounted, and has resulted in resistance by Native Americans to adapt to the capitalist way of life.

Therefore, the following paper will examine why the North

American educational system has been unsuccessful in effectively educating Native Americans. First, an explanation of the Internal Colonialism model and how the model applies to Native Americans will be presented. Secondly, the history of the North American Indian in the United States educational system will be presented and examined. Thirdly, the reasons of how and of why the North American education system has failed Native Americans will be explored. Finally, suggestions will be provided as to how the educational process of Native Americans can be improved. These solutions will improve assimilation while maintaining the dignity and the customs of these people.

In most approaches to the examination of the educational problems of Native Americans, much emphasis has been placed on the so-called "shortcomings" of these people, while ignoring the characteristics of the educational system that is failing them. This paper will examine the colonial education that Native Americans receive, and show how and why this system has failed in their education.

II. THE INTERNAL COLONIALISM MODEL

The education provided to Native Americans by North American society must be considered a colonial education. This is so, because an internal colonialism situation exists between Native Americans and the rest of North American society. By examining the relationship between Native Americans and the white colonizers, educational issues can be explored from a broader perspective than by simply listing the failures of the North American educational system as it concerns Native Americans.

The concept of internal colonialism has been derived from the conceptual framework that sought to explain the situation of the classically-colonized countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America by the white European powers during the age of imperialism (Perley, 1993). This type of colonialism has been defined as the establishment of a domination over a geographically external political unit. This definition includes four elements that occur during the colonizing process. These elements are: the forced, involuntary entry of the colonized group into the dominant society; the colonizing power adopting policies that suppress, transform, or destroy native values; the manipulation and management of the colonized people by agents of the colonized group; and the domination, exploitation, and oppression justified by an ideology of racism, which defines the colonized group as inferior (Blauner, 1969).

In the concept of internal colonialism the above mentioned

components apply, but a situation occurs in which dual or plural societies exist in which a weaker group is oppressed and exploited by a dominant group. This internal colonialism model has been used to describe White-Black relationships in the United States and English-Welsh relationships in Great Britain. In addition to these two examples, this model can be used to explain the "dominant party-exploited group" relationship that exists between Native Americans and their White counterparts.

The Native Americans in North America have been victims of all four of these indignities since the arrival of the Europeans to the new world. When the Europeans arrived, they forced themselves as a dominant, colonizing society that successfully attempted to repress the values and the ways of life of Native Americans. In addition, the Europeans exploited the Native Americans, and treated these people as inferior. Often, Native Americans were treated as "wards" of the United States government (Hoxie, 1988).

As a result of being an internally-colonized group of people, Native American societies are controlled economically and politically by the dominant group; namely, the white North Americans. Factors identified in the internal colonial relationship with the larger system include: the displacement of Native American peoples by European expansion; the isolation and the containment of Native American people inherent in the reservation system; the forced assimilation of Native American societies; the increasing political and economic domination of

reservation affairs by the colonizers; and the development of a racist ideology portraying Native American peoples as backward, savage, uncivilized, and childlike (Perley, 1993).

Since the Native American population has been a definitive example of internal colonialism, two main streams of thought permeated the schooling paradigms of these peoples by North Americans. First, the North Americans attempted to civilize the Indians by converting them to Christianity. It was the goal of the European settlers to rid the Native Americans of their "Indianness". That is, Native American paradigms such as a deep faith in supernatural forces, belief in "medicine men", belief that no one could own land as personal property, and awe for the earth and nature had to be discouraged (Josephy, 1991). These beliefs had to be discouraged because these convictions were contrary to two principles vital to the function of a Western society; namely, a Christian way of life and a Capitalism mode of commerce.

It was realized that the civilization process of Native Americans was not successful. Many Native American groups met these processes of conversion with much resistance, resulting in much bloodshed. When it was realized, by North Americans, that it would be more effective and cheaper to educate the Native Americans than it would be to fight them, the educational process of assimilating Native Americans to North American culture occurred (Hoxie, 1988). This method of education tended to oppress Native Americans, because, once again, the beliefs of

Native American culture were considered to be undesirable traits in American society. The education that the Native Americans received did not positively promote their culture.

These two elements of Christianity and of a Capitalist mode of commerce must be considered when examining the education of Indians by North Americans. In the next section of this paper, the history of the role of Native Americans in North American schooling will be explored, investigating the methods that the Western educational system tried to assimilate these people and fulfill the objective of mainstreaming Native Americans into North American culture without allowing them to achieve positions of power.

III. THE EDUCATION OF NATIVE AMERICANS

After it was realized that the civilization process of converting Indians was ineffective, too often resulting in physical conflicts between the Indian and the white man, it was determined by the federal government of the United States to pursue a policy of total assimilation of the American Indian into the mainstream society. Recognizing the vast difficulties in achieving this goal, Congress and the Bureau of Indian Affairs adopted a plan to remold the Indian's conception of life, or what came to be known as a "system of values". This system of values consisted of two main paradigms of Indian thought; namely, the Indian's procedure of educating children and the Indian attitude toward the ownership of land (Szasz, 1974).

The land issue was easily resolved. The government believed that if the Indian owned his own land, he would assume a responsibility for taking care of it and would thus be a good, mainstreamed citizen. Therefore, land allotment was secured through the passage of the Dawes Act of 1867, which provided for the allotment of lands in severalty to Indians on various reservations (Reyhner, 1990). While this act was temporarily successful, the greed of some United States government members resulted in the extension of the act.

When oil was found on the Navajo Reservation in the late 1920s, an attempt was made to allot the Native American lands. However, the Teapot Dome scandal in Wyoming discredited Secretary

of the Interior Albert B. Fall and his policies. The Dawes Act was strongly endorsed by Fall. Due to the demise of Falls' reputation, the Dawes Act was repealed.

While the Dawes Act attempted to handle the situation of land ownership, the federal government stepped up its effort to educate Native Americans. It was thought that the most effective way to educate Indian children to assimilate to North American culture was to utilize the concept of boarding schools. This system was considered desirable because it was believed that the Indian children had to be separated from their parents and live in a "white" society. In order to accomplish this objective, the first Indian boarding school was born.

Policy makers hoped to open boarding schools that would simultaneously solve the immediate Indian problem and provide the foundation for future generations of assimilated children. At a bare minimum, the goal was to produce students schooled in the rudiments of Anglo-American agriculture and habits of work (Ellis, 1994). This "agriculture/work habits" element was important because traditional Native Americans are not used to producing crops for mass-capitalist production. The Indian philosophy of production was to grow crops for family subsistence. Once this goal was accomplished, the Native Americans felt no need to work until it was necessary for another season of planting and of harvesting crops. There was no conception of the American notion of accumulation of wealth.

The first government-run off-reservation Indian boarding

school was opened at Carlisle, Pennsylvania in 1879 (Lynch and Charleston, 1990). This school was deemed to be successful by the Bureau of Indian Affairs because it effectively fit into the Internal Colonialism model that the colonized must adapt to the way of life of the colonizer. Since more than one boarding school was needed to assimilate Indians effectively, the Bureau began operating a series of these schools. By 1902, the BIA was operating twenty-five boarding schools in fifteen states for 9,736 students (Reyhner and Eder, 1989).

This idea of educating the Native Americans so that they could be assimilated into North American culture was highly endorsed by Thomas J. Morgan, the commissioner of Indian affairs from 1889 to 1893. Morgan energetically supported the Indian boarding schools as the engines that would "turn the American Indian into the Indian American" (Prucha, 1972). Speaking to the 1889 Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian, Morgan outlined his philosophy:

> When we speak of the education of the Indian, we mean that comprehensive system of training and instruction which will convert them into American citizens...Education is the medium through which the rising generation of Indians are to be brought into fraternal and harmonious relationships with their white fellow-citizens, and with them enjoy the sweets of refined homes, the delight of social intercourse, the emoluments of commerce and trade, the advantages of travel, together with the pleasures that come from literature, science, and philosophy, and the solace and stimulus afforded by a true religion (Ellis, 1994).

It is very interesting to note that Morgan makes reference to the emoluments of commerce and trade, an integral element of

the assimilation of Native Americans in the internal colonialism model. Since the pre-capitalist model of commerce in which the Native Americans engage does not meet the needs of the capitalist mode of production of white America, a main goal of the internal colonialism model is to assimilate the colonized so that their efforts will benefit the colonizers economic system. The fact that Morgan uses the commerce issue as one of many issues hides the fact that commerce is the main reason why assimilation is necessary.

In addition, the elitist nature of the colonizers is exhibited in this quote by implying that Christianity is the only "true religion" that can result in solace. While this may be the belief of many Christians, the colonizers wanted to Christianize the Native Americans so the Indians would accept and participate in the Christians' capitalist economic system. This belief in Christianity serves the needs of the colonizer, not the colonized (Perley, 1993).

These boarding schools were taught in the English language and they intended to turn Indians culturally into white people. However, this type of education did not work. Although there were exceptions, these schools were miserably run, poorly administered, and only marginally successful (Ellis, 1994). After leaving school, ninety-five percent of Navajo children went home to live, rather than go to live in white communities. In addition to not assimilating into white culture, these graduates found themselves handicapped to take part in Navajo life because

they did not know the techniques and the customs of their people (Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1962). Also, Navajo students and parents believed that the boarding school was not a place that cared about them (Deyhle and Le Compte, 1994).

At these boarding schools, the differences between Native Americans and the white culture were amplified rather than eradicated. Increasingly, reformers became disillusioned and this disillusionment at the turn of the century led to a lowering of expectations. Increasingly, Indians were seen as Afro-Americans then were seen. The education system resulted in Native Americans to be perceived as a permanent underclass who needed to receive a second class, vocational education (Hoxie, 1984).

With the failure of the boarding schools, the trend began to place Indian children in public schools. While boarding schools still existed by 1912, more Indian children were in public schools than in boarding schools (Reyhner, 1988). To entice school districts to allow Native American children to attend their schools, Morgan enacted that ten dollars per quarter per pupil was to be paid for each Indian student who attended school in the district. In addition, Morgan notified schools that each Indian child was to be given the same opportunities for academic success as his white counterparts (Officer, 1956).

During this period, there were additional financial considerations paid in order to educate Indians. In 1934, the Johnson-O'Malley Act was passed. This act allowed the Secretary of the Interior to enter into contracts with states or

territories to pay them for providing services to Indians. In addition "Indian New Deal" acts such as the Works Progress Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps gave many Native Americans their first introduction to wage labor and began the creation of a cash economy (Reyhner, 1988). This introduction of many Native Americans to wage labor was an attempt to assimilate Indians into the capitalist mode of production, essential for the colonizers' success of the internal colonialism model. In addition to helping the Native Americans, the Indian New Deal resulted in an increase of colonizer employment, as there was more than a twofold increase in the number of staff employed by the Indian Bureau during the 1930s (James, 1988).

These gains in the formal and the informal education of Native Americans continued until the beginning of World War II, when it became increasingly difficult to fund these programs. Nevertheless, the education of Native Americans between 1930 and the beginning of the war had to be deemed rather successful to the white community since many Native Americans graduated from schools, participated in "Indian New Deal" programs and found work in North American cities. In addition, the participation of many Indians in World War II resulted in a sentiment to "set the Indians free" (Szasz, 1977).

After the war, the sentiment that the Indian was being oppressed by mainstream North American culture intensified. The United States Congress accepted an argument that the Indian

Reorganization Act of 1934 forced a collectivist system upon the Indians, with large doses of paternalism and regimentation, and that tribal control and governmental regulations constantly reminded the Indian of his "inferior" status (Armstrong, 1945). Congress' solution to this dilemma was to let the Indians become "free" by terminating their reservations. As part of this termination, states were to assume the responsibility for the education of all Indian children in public schools.

The public school system did not educate Native Americans in a manner that was equal to that of the mainstream population. Many Indians were educated separately, in reservation schools. These schools continued to educate Indians in an internal colonial manner, as described by consumer advocate Ralph Nader. Nader testified before the Special Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education in 1969 that Indian youth had to compromise their values to survive in the American educational system. Note the following sentiment expressed by Ralph Nader:

> The student bringing with him all the values, attitudes, and beliefs that constitute his "Indianness" is expected to subordinate that "Indianness" to the general American standards of the school. The fact that he, the student, must do all the modifying, all the compromising, seems to say something to him about the relative value of his own culture as opposed to that of the school (U.S. Senate 1969).

While the Senate believed that terminating Indian reservations and permitting state responsibility for Indian education would free Native Americans from a strong, governmental control, this belief did not materialize for two reasons. First,

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there was simply a transfer of governmental control over Indian education--from Federal to state. Secondly, the thought that Indians must conform to the North American way of life was too strong. That is, the belief that Native Americans must conform to the North American mode of capitalism and that Indians were inferior members of this system prevailed. Separate and inferior Indian education on reservations only amplified this belief.

The idea of so called "separate but equal schools" in the United States ended with the *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* decision. This decision allowed Native Americans, as well as Afro-Americans, to attend mainstream schools. In addition, Native Americans were allowed to operate tribally-controlled elementary and secondary schools. Also, tribally-controlled colleges were established, beginning with the first such college, Navajo Community College that was founded in 1968. Also, many traditional post-secondary institutions such as Darthmouth College established Native American studies departments (Reyhner, 1988).

So, it can be said that there have been strides to improve the quality of Native American education. However, in addition to the negatives of the previous systems of education, there still are characteristics in today's educational institutions that attempt to "keep the Indians in their place". The next section of this paper will discuss problems which have kept the internal colonialism model alive in the past and in the present North American education system.

IV. HOW AND WHY NORTH AMERICAN EDUCATION FAILED THE INDIANS

The internal colonialism model of education for Native Americans definitely has failed to advance the Indian in North American culture. Certainly, this failure of advancement is a product of the internal colonialism model, which attempts to assimilate the colonized into the mainstream population but not allow them to advance their social standing. The North American educational system has played a significant role in maintaining this internal colonialism model (Perley, 1993).

The educational system has succeeded in maintaining the oppressed situation of the colonized. By accomplishing this objective, North American culture has deprived itself from elements which may have improved its own standard of living. This result fails both the colonizer and the colonized--the colonized stays oppressed, while the colonizer's society can not be enhanced by any elements of the culture of the colonized.

Therefore, the defect of colonial education is a result of the shortcomings of the colonial society. As a result, North American Education has failed Native Americans in three ways. First, the educational system has not been sensitive to Native American culture. Secondly, a lack of a bilingual education has failed Native Americans. Finally, the goal of education was to serve the needs of the colonizer only, and Native American students continue to feel like "inferior children".

In a study conducted by David Eberhard, he concludes that

the educational system's lack of sensitivity to Native American culture has resulted in a disastrous side effect to the Indian population. Eberhard's study revealed that the lack of sensitivity to Native American culture has resulted in a low interest in public education by Indians. This low interest often results in two outcomes; namely, a low Grade Point Average and a high dropout rate (Eberhard, 1989). Eberhard's study of a Southwest United States school district indicated that the dropout rate among Native American students is astronomical. In his study, there was an 88% individual loss of pupils from freshman to senior years (Eberhard, 1989).

Eberhard does not, however, put the entire brunt of this failure on the educational system. He notes in his study, that the American Indian parents of the students who dropped out did not go to the schools to check the academic progress of their children. If parents are resistant to the education offered, colonized or not, it is likely that their children would also be indifferent.

American Indian parents need to go into the schools because the schools belong to them too. Schools need to reach out to American parents as a matter of mutual relationship. The problems of these students need to be jointly owned by teachers and by parents so that the problems can get solved (Eberhard, 1989). By tailoring schools to the needs of Native Americans, it is likely that fewer Indian parents would be indifferent to the educational system and fewer students would leave school.

A second problem is that the North American system of education does not give many Native Americans the opportunity to obtain a bilingual education. Many Native Americans feel that the United States policy which attempted to "destroy" Indian languages has amounted to a form of ethnocide (Cornelius, 1994). Again, this is a product of the internal colonialism model--the model that shows that the languages of the colonized is not important. This problem was especially prevalent during the era of the boarding schools, but in today's environment, many Indian tribes have sought to alleviate this problem internally.

In the 1980s some native peoples had regained control of their children's education by establishing their own schools which enabled them to continue language classes during the regular school day. For those students who attended regular public schools, some tribes established programs that taught their own native languages (Cornelius, 1994). The fear of ethnocide along with the desire of Native Americans to continue their customs has led to these educational endeavors, although these programs are often not encouraged by the "white" bureaucracy.

The final problem is a situation that results in all internal colonial models; simply, that the goals of schooling are designed to serve the needs of the colonizer, not the colonized (Perley, 1993). The colonized, in this case, the Native Americans, are not allowed to take part in the decision process regarding the education of their children. Since these students

are not represented in classroom policy, the colonized are considered to be "inferior children".

This result is a direct intention of the existing internal colonialism model. By defining the subjugated society as a group who are unable to define their own needs, the colonizers succeed in maintaining their dominance. This dominance allows the colonizer to dominate and to devalue the customs and the practices of the colonized. This results in acculturation--the immersion of one culture into a more dominant culture (Chisholm, 1994).

However, this acculturation in the educational sector results in a "vicious circle" resulting in apathy by Native American parents towards the educational system because the educational system is considered to be a threat to the continuing existence of the colonized. However, the failure of Native American children to assimilate to the mainstream culture often results in a displaced population that often falls into problems such as alcohol abuse, drug use, and crime (Chisholm, 1994).

These problems certainly have been evident in the education of Native Americans. However, there are measures that both the Native American population and the colonizers can exercise to improve the educational process while maintaining the dignity and the customs of this population. These solutions now will be summarized and analyzed.

V. HOW TO IMPROVE NATIVE AMERICAN EDUCATION

While this paper has defended Jensen's thesis that the internal colonialism policy that North American governments have enacted toward Native Americans has oppressed them, it does not mean that one should just state the inadequacies of the system. The internal colonialism model is in place, but both parties can benefit by incorporating changes in the educational system. Therefore, three suggestions will be made that would improve the status of Native Americans in North American society. These suggestions will concentrate on the existing educational model.

First, it is vital that Indian parents and communities become more involved in the schooling process. While Native Americans have considered education an important element in the raising of their children, many of these people have not been zealous with North American schools (Greenberg, 1964). By acknowledging these schools as important institutions, and by becoming involved with the schools, two results will emerge.

The first result of this acknowledgement would be that Indian schoolchildren may consider North American schools as an acceptable and an important institution. If parents of schoolchildren do not consider the existing schools as acceptable, it is likely that their children also would consider these schools as undesirable. Conversely, acceptance and involvement by parents may result in an deeper commitment by Indian schoolchildren. The second result would be that Indian

parental and community involvement will pressure the schools to reflect the needs and the ideals of Native Americans (Szasz, 1983). In order for schools to reflect Native American paradigms, Native American representation must be present.

Secondly, many North American teachers must discontinue the "custodial ideology" that they have toward Native American children (Lynch and Charleston, 1990). Consistent with the internal colonialism model that wishes to mainstream the colonized, but only to the extent that the colonized are employed as low-level workers, many teachers believe that Native Americans only have the capacity to receive vocational educations. Consequently, many Native American students are not given the same opportunities as white students.

Two methods can be utilized to alleviate this problem. First, teachers who have Native American children in their classes can undergo sensitivity training. This sensitivity training would help teachers understand the ideals and the learning styles employed by Native Americans. By participating in these programs, discrimination by teachers--a product of the internal colonialism model--may diminish. The second method would be to hire more Native American teachers. These teachers obviously would have a better understanding of Native American paradigms, and they would not have a "custodial ideology" toward Indians.

Finally, and most importantly, North American societies should implement educational systems that encourage

decolonization. By introducing decolonization, both the colonizer and the colonized would be liberated. This process of decolonization must be driven and directed by Native Americans. This can be done by promoting Native American cultures, by recognizing and legitimizing Native American history, and by identifying any unique learning styles that Native Americans may possess (Perley, 1993).

This process of decolonization should not be a question of the colonizer establishing places to accommodate Native Americans. Native Americans have the responsibility to decide the terms under which they participate. Otherwise, relationships of dependency are reinforced (Perley, 1993).

While Native Americans continue to be oppressed by the education provided by the internal colonialism model, these suggestions would improve their situation in North American society. By implementing these changes, Native Americans would assimilate into North American culture, but they would also have an increased opportunity to improve their standing in the colonized culture while maintaining many of their traditions. However, these things cannot be accomplished without a strong representation both by Native American parents and by the Native American community at large. If these factions do not deem North American education as important, it is impossible to presume that Native American children would consider mainstream schooling and North American education as important institutions.

VI. CONCLUSION

This paper has defended Katherine Jensen's thesis that the internal colonialism model utilized by the North American colonizers has oppressed Native Americans. In addition, Native Americans have been resistant to the schooling of the colonizers. Jensen's beliefs have been defended by defining the internal colonialism model, by presenting the history of Native American education, and by explaining the problems inherent to this educational process. In addition, suggestions to improve Native American education, including the use of decolonialism have been examined and recommended.

This internal colonialism situation has shown that there has been European domination of the New World since their arrival. While the Europeans stated that it was important to civilize and later to assimilate Native Americans so that their savagery could be eliminated, it has been shown that capitalism was the main reason why the European settlers engaged in these tasks. The Native American way of life was not adaptable to the colonists' capitalism model. Therefore, Native American ideals and traditions had to be discouraged. So, while the colonists "officially" tried to Christianize the Indians, their ultimate motive was that of a financial nature.

Education has played a vital role in the oppression of Native Americans. First, this objective was accomplished by the use of boarding schools, while later the use of separate public

schools was utilized. *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* allowed Native Americans to enter mainstreamed schools, but quite often they were looked upon by teachers and by administrators as having limited academic potential. A lack of Native American sensitivity by educators and a lack of Native American parental involvement only have amplified this problem. Once again, the internal colonialism belief that the colonized are inferior and can only do menial tasks in capitalist society exists.

However, this is not to say that there is no hope for Native Americans. By the involvement of Native American parents and communities, school boards can be informed of the needs of Native Americans and eliminate bias such as "custodial ideology". In addition, education that encourages decolonization would benefit both Native Americans and the general public.

Progress has been made to improve the well-being of Native Americans, as many of them have become successful members of North American society while still maintaining their culture. Native Americans such as Gerald Gipp, who was the first doctoral graduate in Penn State's Indian Administration program, Grayson Noley, and Mike Charleston have received Ph.D degrees and have dedicated their lives to the improvement of Native Americans (Lynch and Charleston, 1990). However, the actions of these gentlemen are not enough. Both Native Americans, who must be active in the North American education system, and mainstreamed society, who must accept Native Americans as their equal, must work together so that past problems are not repeated.

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